

PEACE NEWS

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Is There No Alternative to That FIGHT TO A FINISH?

THE solemn fact that our country is at war transforms most of our lives into something of a tragedy, no matter whether we support the war or not.

The majority of the nation do support it, largely because they see no other way of escape from what they believe to be a supreme menace. But a minority of pacifists, as well as others, believe that the war could and ought to have been avoided, and that it is carrying us to a social and world condition which will be infinitely worse than that we left behind in September, 1939, and may include totalitarianism.

During war, and especially "total" war, a limitation of liberty is inevitable. Nevertheless, there are some issues upon which we ought never to forgo our democratic right to express an honest opinion. Of such issues I will mention two: the time to try to obtain peace, and the terms of peace.

War plays strange tricks with the human mind; it stirs up powerful passions which tend to obscure and often to black out certain classes of facts which it is most important to remember. Hence it may be that those whose minds are fixed upon the task of winning a war may not be the best persons to decide when and under what conditions it ought to be ended.

Value of Democracy

That is where the value of democracy comes in, and where "Hitlerism" would clearly fail.

I should, therefore, like to express my views upon that particular issue, as it is a matter to which I have given much thought, while its importance is generally recognised.

This war is confronting humanity with some vast and quite new problems which, moreover, are so fundamental and urgent as to demand immediate attention.

Whoever possesses the final word as to when and how the war shall end, carries a responsibility so grave and momentous as to call for the concern of all who have any regard for the

future and who cherish the rights of democracy.

Our country is being called upon by the Government to carry the war to a successful conclusion. But what is a successful conclusion? Many leading politicians and most newspapers interpret this aim as a victory of arms, or a fight to a finish.

By WILFRED WELLOCK

It sounds very heroic, but have those who put it forward thought out what it involves? Has the country as a whole thought it out?

Cost of the War

We are on common ground in the desire to end "Hitlerism," but when enormous sacrifices are being made by the greater part of the world, it is of the greatest importance to avoid doing anything which might bring Hitlerism by another route. What would the proposed policy cost in life, in hope for the future, and in liberty? Let us consider.

1. In Life.—The recent conflict in Holland has given us valuable facts to work on. In less than one week's fighting some 130,000 Dutch soldiers lost their lives, and probably an even larger number of civilians, although the exact figure is not yet known. Multiply those figures by the number of weeks' fighting which a fight to a finish is likely to involve, and who dare contemplate the result, or the future which they promise? Also think of the effect upon

the minds of the millions of men whom we are sending into battle or such devilish instruments and methods of warfare as are now in use. Men who are condemned to live in such an inferno as is modern war at its worst will never be the same again.

2. In Hope.—The psychological effect of the above and other results of a

military victory will be to put in doubt the survival of Western civilisation. The last war so weakened the people's faith in civilisation and in governments as to bring in question, through a declining population, the power of Britain and France—and also Germany—to survive. A prolonged, hellish war after but 22 years of nerve-racking peace, will decide that issue finally. Civilisation can only survive so long as it is able to maintain its spiritual and social values, whereas the collapse of the economic system through the simultaneous growth of riches and poverty, the decay of Christianity and the weakening and retreat of democracy, ending in world-shattering, metal-massacring wars, must weaken and destroy such spiritual values as still remain.

Post-War Chaos

3. In Liberty.—Those who imagine that individual liberty will be assured once Hitler is overthrown are in for a rude awakening. The financial and economic consequences of a fight to a

finish will be so disastrous as to make revolution or dictatorship, or both, inevitable. There is at present taking place an unprecedented revolution in world economy, which will produce post-war chaos of such magnitude that only a miracle will be likely to prevent a period of European if not world totalitarianism. On the other hand, colossal debt will destroy international credit and a considerable measure of international trade. Mr. Arthur Greenwood, now a member of the War Cabinet, a few weeks ago predicted new "Hungry Forties," worse than those of last century, and an army of 7,000,000 unemployed after the war unless the problems of passing from war to peace are solved in advance. But who believes they will or can be solved in advance?

If the above are some of the probable consequences of a war to a finish, what is the alternative? Is there an alternative? The least that can be said is that if there is the least possibility of an alternative, it ought to be carefully considered.

(To be continued next week.)

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The Economics Behind War

By R. JAY

(Research Officer, School of History and Economics,
University of Queensland)

ONE of the most potent causes of war is the fear that the sources of wealth available to a nation may not be sufficient for its needs.

The resources of trading nations do not lie only in the territories they inhabit. They draw a large part of their needs from other countries. These imports have to be paid for by exports of surplus home production, and consequently any loss of markets impairs the ability of a nation to obtain the imports it needs.

The loss is, in fact, a double one, for the army of specialised workmen and the machinery or soil of an export industry are only a liability if exports are cut down.

Effect of Tariffs

Economic earthquakes can be caused, in times of peace, by sudden changes in the amount or direction of foreign investment, and by the imposition of tariffs, etc., against imports.

Huge changes have taken place in the last ten years. A great volume of investment from the United States and Britain suddenly ceased in 1929, through fear that the loans were not secure. This reduced the borrowers' capacity

(especially Germany's) to buy American and English exports.

The investors then sought an outlet in import-replacement industries, and the American Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act in 1930 reduced imports, especially from Japan, very severely.

Reduced Capacity to Buy

England raised tariffs against imports in 1931. With their own exports reduced severely by these tariffs, the capacity of other nations to buy American and English exports was again reduced.

A grim struggle for markets followed. The United States and France were unable to recover the ground lost; England sought preferential markets within the Empire under the Ottawa Agreements; Japan found in China, and Italy in Abyssinia, markets equivalent to what they had lost elsewhere; Germany built up barter markets in Latin America and South-Eastern Europe, and dreamed again of Mittel Europa.

The intense economic insecurity and the depression promoted by these changes is, in my opinion, the prime cause of the political insecurity and war which followed.

The following table gives figures for these statements:—

	U.S.A.		U.K.		Germany		France		Japan		Italy	
	1929	1937	1929	1937	1929	1937	1929	1937	1929	1937	1929	1937
Total Exports	1060	840	730	655	660	607	404	243	240	301	165	140
Industrial Europe and U.S.A.	364	268	171	145	368	238	138	120	*85	*32	95	62
Scandinavia	30	29	31	57	67	73	6	8	—	—	—	—
South-East Europe	13	12	—	—	32	73	—	—	—	—	—	—
British Dominions	245	179	179	187	17	17	—	—	8	9	12	11
Latin America	196	161	80	65	51	70	25	16	3	7	20	10
Colonies	17	21	66	83	—	—	78	66	—	—	4	33
China	25	12	14	8	9	19	—	—	84	187	—	—
India	11	10	78	49	11	15	—	—	18	16	—	—

Source.—Statistics of World Trade (League of Nations). The total of world trade had recovered to the level of 1929 by 1937, if price changes are allowed for, but fell again in 1938. Note that the figures for Japan are for 1938. (*) The United States only.

What of Human Beings?

"In the first week our losses by U-boat sinkings amounted to 65,000 tons; in the second week they were 46,000 tons; and in the third week they were 21,000 tons. (Cheers.) In the last six days we have lost only 9,000 tons, though one must not dwell on these reassuring figures too much, for war is full of unpleasant surprises; but certainly I am entitled to say that so far as they go these figures do not need to cause any undue despondency or alarm."

—Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, September 26, 1939 [our italics].

"We have to be prepared for a heavy wastage of machines [on bombing raids over Norway—our italics] in the course of the supreme effort required to build up an overwhelming Air Force as rapidly as possible."

—Daily Telegraph editorial, May 2, 1940.

"It is true that Hitler has had severe casualties and has lost a third of his fleet. But it is a cheap price to pay for Scandinavia and for the final closing of the Baltic."

—News-Chronicle editorial, May 6, 1940 [our italics].

"Risks must be measured against probable gains. The prize in this case was not Trondheim; it was Norway's freedom and our own leadership of Europe. That stake was worth a battleship."

—H. N. Brailsford, in Reynolds News, May 5 [our italics].

About This Issue

We have been able to fulfil our promise to give you a larger paper this week. But only just!

After a good deal of delay and uncertainty we got the paper and found a printer. The paper was set up in type, but when all was ready to print, the Government published new regulations under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act. These appear to dispense with the original procedure of warning newspapers which the Home Secretary believes to be "fomenting opposition to the prosecution to a successful issue" of the war. Instead, we now appear to be liable to prosecution without warning — if the Home Secretary takes the view that we are publishing such matter.

Consequently our new printer felt that he could not print the paper. But we have found another printer who is willing to print this issue, though naturally the inquiries involved have taken time and thus delayed publication. There is, moreover, a further obstacle to be overcome.

The National Association of Wholesale Newsagents informed us yesterday (Thursday) that "the members of this Association have decided not to participate in the distribution of Peace News after the issue dated May 31st." This means that practically no newsagent will deliver Peace News.

(Continued on back page.)

A Pacifist Commentary . . . Edited by "Observer"

THE latest defence regulation had scarcely been made—and apparently not published, at any rate in the Press—when action was taken under it against a number of Fascists and people suspected of being near-Fascists. Made on the night of May 22, the regulation was acted upon on the following morning.

Not only the wording of the new regulation, but also the Home Secretary's statement in connection with the arrests of Fascists, is of considerable interest and significance, particularly to those who hold minority opinions about the war. By an amendment of Regulation 18B of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939, a new paragraph, 18B (1A) reads:—

"(1A) If the Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe any person to have been or to be a member of, or to have been or to be active in the furtherance of the objects of, any such organisation as is hereinafter mentioned, and that it is necessary to exercise control over him, he may make an order against that person directing that he be detained.

"The organisations hereinafter referred to are any organisation as respects which the Secretary of State is satisfied that either—

(a) the organisation is subject to foreign influence or control, or

(b) the persons in control of the organisation have or have had association with persons concerned in the Government of, or sympathies with the system of government of, any Power with which his Majesty is at war.

and in either case that there is danger of the utilisation of the organisation for purposes prejudicial to the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of any war in which his Majesty may be engaged, or the maintenance of supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

New Defence Regulations—A Question of Interpretation :: No Rights for Objectors Now?

Captain A. H. Ramsay, M.P., was detained under the unamended regulation, which provided for the detention of people believed "to be of hostile origin or associations or to have been recently concerned in acts prejudicial to the public safety . . . or in the preparation or instigation of such acts."

Although Sir Oswald Mosley and the other Fascists were arrested under the new regulation, which is somewhat wider and vaguer, Sir John Anderson was at pains to point out, in the House of Commons, that the arrests had been made "not on account of any opinions held or expressed by the British Union of Fascists, nor on account of their propagandist activities, but because of the danger that the organisation might be used in the execution of acts prejudicial to the security of the State."

Where Credit is Due

NO proper interpretation could bring pacifists—or at any rate the Peace Pledge Union—under the terms of that amended regulation (although one of the people arrested under it—Ben Greene—happens to have joined the P.P.U. among other organisations, including the Society of Friends).

We should also, I believe, be thankful and give credit for the Home Secretary's statement, and also for his similar statement in connection with the earlier amendments to the regulations concerning material published.

But that does not need to blind us to the fact that every extension of such powers is dangerous,

especially as public opinion becomes less tolerant and demands sterner interpretations of the powers. Thus, for example, we find this view expressed in *The Times* on May 23, referring to the defence regulations generally:—

"They give power also to require persons to reside within a specified area and not travel outside it without permission. No one would be sorry to see these powers exercised immediately against those responsible for publications or activities which seek to traduce or to impede the high purposes of their country in waging this war, and many would prefer to see such persons confined to their own society in internment camps. They have a right to their own opinions, if indeed these opinions are their own and not manufactured or procured by the nation's enemies; but they have no right to inflict them on others at such a time."

While pacifists should not, on the one hand, take too alarmist a view of the Government's intentions in this matter (if only because it is unfair to its declared policy to do so), they must, on the other hand, realise that freedom to express minority views must be responsibly, as well as intelligently, used.

No Right to Object?

THE British form of dictatorship (really "national socialism") introduced last week seems to contain the possibility of having the effect, though it does not do it in fact, of virtually abolishing the right to possess a conscientious objection to helping the prosecution of the war.

Even the granting of unconditional exemption from military service by a tribunal under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act would not appear to be any guarantee, since the Government now has power to order anyone to undertake any work. What will happen to a C.O. who refuses to obey such an order? We can only wait and see.

But it is worth noting that Judge Richardson, chairman of the Newcastle tribunal, answered the question in characteristically extravagant fashion last Thursday. He told one applicant: "You know of the new Act. Even if you get absolute exemption here, the State has power to do with you whatever it thinks fit. They will probably shoot you if you refuse to do anything."

"I can assure you they will have to drag me," said the C.O. "They can shoot me. I refuse to take any part in the war."

It is to be hoped that the position of C.O.s under the new Act will soon be clarified—for better or for worse. In hoping that some kind of really effective exemption will remain, pacifists are concerned not to shirk the hardships of war (as if that were possible), but to see that the light of freedom is not blacked-out completely in a war fought to defend it.

Churches and C.O.s

THE Christian pacifist argument that war is contrary to the will of God was rejected in a statement adopted by an overwhelming majority at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on Saturday.

No doubt members of C.O.'s tribunals who make a practice of telling applicants that the Churches do not approve of pacifism will be heartened by this news. Perhaps they don't know that in calmer times statements from Anglican and Methodist sources (to give only two instances) expressly admitted the Christian's right to be a conscientious objector.

The Archbishop of York, writing in *The Times* on September 4, 1939, referred to newspaper reports that he had declared that "should war come it will be the duty of a Christian to fight," and declared: "No such sentence occurred in my sermon. On the contrary, I expressly said that I believe some Christians are directly called to be pacifists. I added that this is not a general obligation of Christians, but that to attempt to maintain goodwill even while using force to check evil is such a general obligation."

The Archbishop of Canterbury also urged that the views of C.O.s should be respected when he spoke on the Military Training Bill in the House of Lords on May 22, 1939.

As for Nonconformists, it is worth recalling the New Year Message issued by the president of the Methodist Conference, the Rev. Richard Pyke, last December, for the Methodist Church is the largest nonconformist body. The president stressed the sharp difference of opinion between Christians as to their duty to the nation in time of war, and conceded the right of those who are convinced that loyalty to Christ forbids the use of arms to act according to their convictions.

The Real War

"NEWSPAPERS nowadays have too little room to tell us much about anything except news from the war fronts abroad and at home. They don't find space to tell us about the constructive activities of the League of Nations, still going on. Yet we ought to know about that work. It is important to-day and will be of immense importance to-morrow. Dull? No, this is not a dull subject, if only we have the imagination to grasp the significance of what is happening."

The whole of the above paragraph is quoted from a recent issue of the League of Nations Union News Sheet. It introduces an article on "Collective Security Against Disease"—a reminder that the League did provide the machinery for the real war humanity must wage, the war against disease, poverty and ignorance.

The article showed that the fight can be as exciting in its way as the exploits of those engaged in the present European strife. It tells how the League's Health Organisation "has helped scores of countries to stamp out or curb such evils as malaria, tuberculosis, sleeping sickness, cholera, smallpox, dysentery, and so on. It had grappled with more obscure epidemics which have broken out in places as far apart as Greece or Rumania and Latin America. And so, when other problems of disease come along, the countries concerned naturally think first of all of the League."

Here is an example:—

"Within a fortnight after the outbreak of the present war, Rumania sent an S.O.S. to Geneva. She was speaking not only for herself but for all the countries bordering upon the war zone. What she asked the League to do was to organise 'joint epidemic control action.'

"You may think that a clumsy phrase, but its meaning is clear enough. Picture to yourself the anxieties of Rumania and her neighbours. Every day brought thousands of Polish refugees flocking towards their frontiers. A cold snap of weather, they know, would probably set typhus raging among these homeless, destitute people. Malaria and dysentery might also break out—and spread to the near-by neutral countries. 'This is serious,' said the Rumanians. 'Let us, with the League's technical help, stop these epidemics before they start.'

"The League lost no time. Off to Bucharest went the Director of the Health Section at Geneva. There, with the responsible authorities, he discussed what could be done. Similar consultations followed in Budapest and other places. All the Balkan countries, it was found, were in favour of concerted action through the League."

Here is work that needs extending: when will men see that it is far more worthy of their time, treasure and energies than is mutual destruction?

"Cultured Critic"

I WOULD record without comment the reply of the Ministry of Information (through the Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. Harold Nicolson, in Parliament on Tuesday) to the suggestion of Mr. H. G. Strauss (Norwich, Cons.) that "it was very strange" that John Middleton Murry, a pacifist and one of the leading members of the Peace Pledge Union, should have been allowed to broadcast.

Mr. Nicolson "could not accept the principle that they should refuse to use a person who had been completely opposed to war in the past. Mr. Middleton Murry was an extremely cultured critic with a sensitive mind and a great knowledge."

Quotations

What We Fought for Then

If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place to fulfil a solemn international obligation, an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law but of honour, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say, secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle—which in these days when force, material force, sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind—we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power.

—Herbert Henry Asquith (Prime Minister), in the House of Commons, August 6, 1914.

Approximate Result

Mr. Macpherson (Under-Secretary for War) stated, in reply to Mr. R. Runciman (L. Cleveland), that the military casualties in the Expeditionary Forces in the different theatres of war were necessarily incomplete, and he was afraid that some time would elapse before the exact figures could be given. But up to November 10, 1918, the figures, including the Dominion and Indian troops, in the various theatres of operation were as follows:—

Total casualties 3,049,971
Officers (killed, wounded and missing) 142,614
Men (killed, wounded and missing) . . . 2,907,357
—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 20, 1918.

"It is generally supposed that the total military and naval deaths amount to between ten and thirteen millions. One authority reckons as follows:—Known deaths, 10,004,771; presumed deaths, 2,991,800; total, 12,996,571."

—C. R. M. F. Crutwell, *A History of the Great War*, 1934.

A complete list of pacifist pamphlets, &c., published by the Peace Pledge Union, may be obtained, price 1d., post free, from Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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BOOKS

For three weeks we have been unable, through pressure on space, to notice new books of interest to pacifists. Uncertainties of paper supply and printing will inevitably cause this to happen frequently, we fear. We hope that readers will understand our inability to do more than refer briefly to the more important publications dealing with the many problems of Peace.

Peregrinations of a Pacifist

Journey Through the War Mind. C. E. M. Joad. Faber and Faber. 8s. 6d.

DR. JOAD'S itinerary starts on a remote Scottish moor, where he finds himself stranded on the outbreak of war. Returned again to London, he proceeds to the Ministry of Information, where his offer of national service is spurned, by an official, after "a lengthy disquisition, on the twin themes of my incompetence as a civil servant and the unfortunate publicity accorded to the case of an escapading daughter." Thus baulked, he sets himself to "talking to friends and acquaintances to find what in their view were the reasons which made the war inevitable; the goods to be gained by it, and the ends which justified it"—to write another book, in short. Here it is.

He interviews a Good Patriot, a War-Winner, a Hatress of Huns, a Reasonable Pacifist, a Pacifist Mystic, and a Communist. In that order, he finds a praiseworthy but simple, B and C predominantly wicked, D sensible and intelligent, E enormously impressive ("I was quite prepared to believe that he was right. Meanwhile, however, his remedy was altogether too drastic for fallible human beings to adopt"), and F sincere and honest, but too simple. Clearly, a bad day.

Dr. Joad concludes his peregrination by stating the case for Federal Union, which is for him "a cause for which to work and a light by which to live." The modern State is for him, you see, the real villain of the contemporary pieces. How he proposes to get States to surrender those particular functions that a super-State would, and should, exercise, in a shorter time than it would take to make Britain or Europe pacifist, he does not say. No doubt he will develop this theme in another book.

Despite this inconclusiveness, and the fact that the author has now joined those who are calling for "Victory Over Germany First!" this is quite an instructive effort, by one of the most agile minds and amusing pens of our time.

The Debate Continues

Federal Union. A Symposium edited by M. Channing-Pearce. Cape. 10s. 6d.

Federal Illusion? D. N. Pritt. Muller, Cloth, 3s. 6d.

A Federation for Western Europe. W. Ivor Jennings. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.

THE modern federalist's library grows almost weekly. One feels that already he must have all the theory and practical applications of it he can possibly require—at least until Europe settles down again and he can survey the post-war scene.

Mr. Channing-Pearce's symposium, at any rate, should be for a time the very last word on this widely debated panacea for our international ills. To the description of the meaning and history, the theory and practice, and the prospects of federalism he has harnessed an impressive team of twenty-two authorities, including Prof. Ivor Jennings, Dr. William Brown, J. B. Priestley, Sir John Orr, Olaf Stapledon, W. B. Curry, Prof. Lionel Robbins, W. Horsfall

Carter, Storm Jameson and Wickham Steed. Assurance of the editor's earnest for truth is the inclusion of a searching criticism by Middleton Murry, "Pre-Conditions of Federal Union."

This collection is a fine contribution to that "great debate" which H. G. Wells assures us must go on concurrently with the war if we are not, as the price of victory, to lose the peace.

Mr. Pritt is steadily staking out a claim as one of our most outspoken and topical pamphleteers. He calls his latest effort "An Examination of Federal Union," but it is rather the closing speech of eminent counsel for the prosecution. He feels that "the conclusion is inescapable that Federal Union in any guise cannot be established as a reality within the limits of the existing economic structure either now or in any reasonably near future," and he utters a warning to supporters of the idea: "It will be tragic if they realise too late that they have been used as a smoke-screen for the reactionary war aims of the British and French ruling classes."

Professor Jennings brings his great knowledge to the task of drawing up a Draft Constitution for a Federation of Western Europe. Erudition and optimism the writer undoubtedly has; and modesty—he hopes "that large numbers of people, in Federal Union's local study groups and outside, in England and abroad, will read his plan to tatters and piece together something infinitely better." Events in Europe look like facilitating the process.

ANDREW STEWART

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Poster Case Defence Opens

MAGISTRATE'S SERIOUS WARNING

A PLAIN hint was given to the six leaders of the Peace Pledge Union who are accused of endeavouring to cause disaffection among "persons in His Majesty's service," when Sir Robert Dummett, the Bow Street magistrate, in adjourning the hearing after it had been resumed on Thursday of last week, asked them to undertake what undertaking they would be prepared to give as regards future propaganda, and warned them that otherwise "it might be very serious for them."

Mr. John Platts Mills, for the defence, submitted that there was no case to answer. The essential word in the charge against them, he said, was "endeavouring," and he quoted dictionary definitions to show that it meant that an action was "wilfully, advisedly, and maliciously" attempted. The prosecution must therefore prove in full an intention to seduce.

The Magistrate (Sir Robert Dummett).—Can you tell me what this poster means if it does not mean that a man eligible to be a soldier should refuse to fight?

Mr. Mills said the poster was addressed to no one in particular, but to every one in general. Except by the most inconceivably strained construction it did not mean "Throw down your arms." It invited a man to answer what he thought, which was a long way short of inciting to disaffection or dereliction of duty.

All the defendants were men of integrity, whose loyalty to their country could not be challenged. The poster had been exhibited for the past two years, and referred to war generally and not to this war in particular. Parliament had exempted certain people on the grounds of conscience from joining the fight, and provision

had even been made for men who had joined the armed forces, in certain circumstances, to establish a conscientious objection to fighting.

"That is a complete answer to the suggestion that it is provoking them to commit some illegal act," he added. "Is it not open to an organisation to educate the conscience of the people?"

"My answer to that is, flatly, no," replied the magistrate, who later said: "I do not think you have said one thing which is liable to change my view; with regard to this poster, that it comes well within these regulations."

Dr. Wood in the Box

In the witness box, Dr. Wood, after declaring that he thought the poster "inappropriate at the present moment," said: "That poster was part of a perfectly general public witness to the convictions which the pacifist movement holds. It was intended to be a challenge to everybody. It was not primarily or specifically directed to the Army. But I think, now there are so many people in the Army, that the conclusion, the inference that it is directed to the Army is more legitimate than when the poster was put out."

Asked if he regarded that as a proper inference to-day, Dr. Wood said he did not.

Question About Undertaking

Sir Robert Dummett.—Are you in a position to give me an undertaking that this poster will be destroyed and never exhibited during the present war?

Dr. Wood said he was not in that position, though he would place such a request before the National Council of the P.P.U. Later, he said that he personally would not favour the continued displaying of the poster.

The Attorney General (Sir Donald Somervell, K.C.) put it to Dr. Wood that he was not saying, through the poster, that wars would cease when men not in armies refused to fight, but he replied that war would cease when men not in armies refused to fight because the time would come when they would be eligible.

Sir Robert Dummett.—Although you cannot pledge yourself that this poster and any similar posters will be destroyed during the war, you will do your best to see that that is done?

Dr. Wood.—That is going rather far.

Sir Robert Dummett.—I intend it to.

The Accused

Dr. Alex Wood (Chairman).
Stuart Morris (General Secretary).
Maurice L. Rowntree (Hon. Treasurer).
John Barclay (Group Organiser).
Ronald H. Smith (of Forest Hill).
Sidney Todd (of Bodicote, near Banbury).

The Charges

The charge against the first four was that "with intent to procure the contravention of Regulation 39A (1) (a) of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939," they had under their control "documents of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof among persons in His Majesty's service would constitute such a contravention contrary to Regulation 39A (1) (b) of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939."

A further charge against them and also against Ronald H. Smith and Sidney Todd read: (that they) "did endeavour to cause among persons in His Majesty's service disaffection likely to lead to breaches of their duty, contrary to Regulation 39A (1) (a) of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939." It was understood that this charge arose out of the displaying of a P.P.U. poster, while the other referred to its being "under their control."

The poster read: "War will cease when men refuse to fight. What are you going to do about it?"

The Law Says . . .

The part of the Defence Regulations referred to reads:

"No person shall (a) endeavour to seduce from their duty persons in His Majesty's service or engaged under any public authority in the performance of functions in connexion with the defence of the realm or the securing of the public safety, or to cause among such persons disaffection likely to lead to breaches of their duty, or (b) with intent to contravene, or to aid, abet, counsel or procure a contravention of, sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph, have in his possession or under his control any document of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof among such persons as aforesaid would constitute such a contravention."

The maximum penalty for an offence against this regulation is a fine of £100 and imprisonment for three months (or, if the case were to go before a jury, £500 and two years).

FEAR

By John Barclay
(P.P.U. Groups Organiser)

FEAR is being created and with it suspicion and intolerance. The misrepresentation which has become an almost accepted policy of the British Press to-day, has now reached such limits that it is almost impossible to find a newspaper that will accept a letter or statement from a Pacifist. In such circumstances we have to exercise a spirit which by its tolerance will understand and defeat the opposition. In normal times this would be comparatively easy, but with a public opinion that is constantly undermined by deliberate propaganda it becomes increasingly difficult to believe in human decency and human values.

Friends who have for years shared common experiences are suddenly turned into bitter enemies, and repeat the most stupid and slanderous lies. For instance, since my name has appeared in the papers in connection with a certain poster I have been denounced by some who know me well as "A German spy," by others as "A German officer who fought in the last war," and my wife has received sympathetic condolences in the belief that she did not find this out till after she had married me!

If it was not so tragic it would be farcical. Fear is sweeping decent sane people off their feet. We must remain calm and fearless. The suffering that is coming to us must be borne in patience, and we must endure the loss of friends and freedom without bitterness. The war has already successfully destroyed a great many of our liberties—liberties for which we are supposed to be fighting.

The totalitarianism which we abhor is gaining ground, and the concentration camps against which we have been set up in this country. Most of this has so far been made possible by the fear of invasion and not by invasion itself. How much more deadly and insidious will become the oppression we cannot tell. Against it we can only place our Pacifism and believe that the faith we hold so dearly cannot be lost unless we destroy it ourselves.

LETTERS

Alternative to War

IN our attempts to convert friends and acquaintances to the pacifist faith, it is easy to obtain agreement that war in general is beastly and futile, but far more difficult to persuade them that there is an alternative to war in this particular case.

We must admit that, at the worst, all attempts at negotiation with Germany may fail to achieve constructive ends.

It seems one's opponent cannot accept as a justifiable risk of peace now, the chance that Nazism will ever change to something more moderate. There is something about the Germans . . .

One must bear in mind that our "militarist" friend, while believing in force, paradoxically deplores it, and he will force us down to the stage of admitting that, if this country turned pacifist, it may possibly come to pass that we might be subject to the imposition of a regenerate philosophy.

Well, suppose this did happen. Would he then personally accept it as the best philosophy even though he submitted to authority and kept his thoughts to himself? How many people would be in the same mind? Would this regenerate philosophy remain as the centre of life for generations? No! History does not work like that. There would be such a swell of suppressed desire for better, cleaner thoughts, that a movement, perhaps in the form of a religious revival, would sweep the earth from end to end.

And all that supposing a conference failed; supposing, after the removal of external pressure on Germany, the worst elements of Nazism persisted; supposing efficiency at the expense of sentiment and human values (which is what Nazism is) were still necessary with a breakdown of frontiers; supposing the very worst conceivable result of ending the war.

As for the Germans being all brutes, if that were so, why is there any need for propaganda in Germany at all? Why accuse us of shelling open towns if the shelling of civilians is not deplored by ordinary Germans?

H. W. HEASON.

Pacifist Activity

The Peace Pledge Union should be used for furthering the general policy laid out in the affirmations and Bond of Peace. Meetings should be devoted to fellowship and education in our own principles, and the problems arising out of the present conflict. We should aid more definitely and completely those pacifists who are suffering through war conditions. This last activity alone can provide Groups with a real, practical, and useful purpose.

By moving along these lines our organisation will preserve its existence and strength to be used in the future when the thought and action of pacifism may conceivably result in the things we desire.

LYNN H. THOMAS.

"Halkyn," Sandhurst Crescent, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

Community Experiment

The pacifist forestry unit at Westdean, near Seaford, has decided to launch an experiment in community living, and we would be grateful if we could make an appeal through your columns for articles of furniture such as tables, chairs, lino or carpets and kitchen utensils.

Once the scheme is launched it should proceed smoothly and efficiently; it is the initiation that provided all the difficulties.

PETER BURBIDGE.

152, Chyngton Cottages, Seaford, Sussex.

Dr. Wood.—I want to make it perfectly clear that if we were to refuse to issue any pamphlets which might get into the hands of soldiers, hold any meetings which soldiers might attend, or put up any posters which soldiers might see, we should put ourselves in the position of being completely closed down. What I am prepared to do is to give an undertaking that, as far as this particular poster is concerned, I would press for its withdrawal; but I could not give a general undertaking that no activity should take place. I think Sir John Anderson is anxious that some responsible expression of opinion should be allowed.

The magistrate indicated that he proposed to put a similar question to any of the defendants who might be called.

Maurice Rowntree's Evidence

When Maurice Rowntree, in the witness box, said he had been educated at Heidelberg University, the magistrate asked if he had advocated pacifism in Germany, and he replied that he had very definitely done so when he had been to Germany on a number of occasions.

Asked to whom the poster was addressed, he said he agreed with Dr. Wood on that point. Sir Robert Dummett then asked, "Do you think it is your duty to advocate these views?" Mr. Rowntree replied: "Yes. I believe it is my duty to endeavour to show that there is another way of dealing with even the most terrible situation."

He submitted that that poster was simply one of a large number of posters and other educational literature, and one could not very well isolate one poster and take its effects alone. He suggested that they should be judged by all their work. He thought that poster was a clumsy one, but they did not stand for the right to put that general point of view.

Questioned by the Attorney General, Mr. Rowntree said he felt that the poster was a

(Continued on back page)

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SITUATIONS

Vacant

MOTOR DRIVERS wanted for Potato Lorries. West of England.—Box 448, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

MOTOR MECHANIC required, Bristol district, full particulars. Box 447, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Wanted

AGRICULTURE or similar work required. Pacifist (36), single, educated, healthy, inexperienced but adaptable; able drive. Small allowance and keep; preferably West Midlands.—Box 450, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

CHARTERED SECRETARY, experienced accountant, age 32, married with 2 young children, urgently needs change (present employers starting munitions). Seventeen years in present situation. Expert practical knowledge book-keeping and accounts, secretarial practice, costing, correspondence, office management.—Box 445, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

C.O. BAKER, Pastrycook, married (26), seeks position. Home Counties preferred.—Wileman, 17 King Edward Avenue, Burnham-on-Crouch, Essex.

C.O. (194), sacked because pacifist. Was Junior Draughtsman, but any type of work considered. London area.—Box 451, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

C.O. (23) requires work of any kind. Clerical experience. London preferred.—Box 449, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

C.O. (24), awaiting tribunal, urgently requires work. Agriculture, horticulture, or farm work of any description. Inexperienced, but willing to learn. Reliable copy. Go anywhere.—Box 444, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

C.O. (27), family man, seeks work until tribunal. 10 years advertising, editorial layout, art-work. Can draw, drive, type, etc.—Hibbs, Dry Cottage, Cookham Dean, Berks.

ESTIMATING AND COSTING CLERK (33) requires post unconnected with war work. Has been with present firm 54 years, but wishes to leave owing to war work. Clerical work of any description considered.—Box 454, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST. C.O. (24), married, seeks constructive employment. 7 years' experience as salesman. Anything considered.—Box 452, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST, Engineering graduate, 17 years' experience, seeks useful outlet for abilities in forestry or agriculture.—Box 453, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST (23), complete exemption, experienced reporting and junior sub-editing, seeks post in Morecambe district. Anything else considered. Driver.—Box 457, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST (27), married, assistant chemist, all exams, except Finals for B.Sc., eight years' experience foodstuffs and general chemistry, urgently seeks post. Moderate salary, London preferred, anywhere considered.—Box 446, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUNG VEGETARIAN prospective C.O., clergyman's son, would like situation on fruit farm or similar occupation. Good worker.—Box 455, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

COMFORTABLE Modern Apartments, residential suburb near town, B. & B., 4s. 6d.—Gleave, 10, Maycroft Avenue, Carlisle, Blackpool.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. Station: Ambergate (L.M.S.). Tel.: Ambergate 44.

HASTINGS. Mary and Kenneth Wray, "Tinkers Dell," Battle, welcome Paying Guests. Beautiful country; easy bus distance of sea. 21 gns. double, 3 gns. single. Vegetarian or meat.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 6s.; double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Tel. 5572.

LOVELY LUSTLEIGH. Come and leave your children at Mapstone Home School and Guest House. Two houses, high, healthy—over 500ft. above sea-level. Farm produce, home baking. Family terms, moderate.—Mapstone, Lustleigh, Devon.

WYE VALLEY HOLIDAYS. Guest House and Community Crafts Centre. Vegetarian diet.—Barn House, Brockweir, Mon.

MISCELLANEOUS

BECOME a non-smoker! Save £10-£20 per annum. Improve—and preserve—your health. Unique, drugless, infallible method.—Wainley Course, 87 Taggart Avenue, Liverpool, 15.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT. Send for a copy of important pamphlet, "Peace Now," by Rev. H. Ingh James; 15d. post free, from 23 Clara Street, Stoke, Coventry.

CYCLES: Britain's best at £5 9s. and £5 18s., carriage paid; every necessary accessory, even to cyclometer. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

FIRST-CLASS TYPEWRITING and duplicating.—Jabel Eyles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24. Brixton 2853.

HEADLINE NEWSLETTER: The Truth about This War, written weekly by one of Britain's best-known publicists. 52 Letters, 10s.; 26 Letters, 5s. 6d.; specimen copy, 3d.—Secretary, Headline, 13 John Street, W.C.1.

HIGHGATE, London. Furnished top-floor flat. Quiet neighbourhood. 2 rooms, kitchen and bathroom, use of bathroom. Accom. two or three. Pacifists preferred. 18s. 6d. p.w.—Apply Box 456, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

HOSPITALITY needed for German refugee girl, age 14, now attending secondary school in S. Birmingham (school fees found). Please write Miss Shanks, 8 Hayfield Road, Birmingham, 15.

IN A DEVON VALLEY. Wanted a lady (Pacifist) to share expenses and work of a small bungalow.—Kearney, 5 Station Road, Newton Abbot, Devon.

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitcomb), health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way, North Letchworth (Letchworth 885).

PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 233 Sellin Road, London, S.W.17.

PRINTING of any description. Cheapest house in country for leaflets, etc. Speedy delivery.—Galt and Son, Shipley, Yorks. Entirely P.P.U.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SPIRITUAL HEALING. To those who are suffering mentally or physically—don't give up hope. Try spiritual treatment. Testimonials.—Box 427, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The books for which Action and New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." 2s. 6d. from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

FACTS AND FIGURES

What the Last War Cost

ACCORDING to the best statistics obtainable, the World War cost 30,000,000 lives and £80,000,000,000 in property.

In order to give some idea of what this means, just let me illustrate it in the following: With that amount we could have built a £500 house and furnished this house with £200 worth of furniture, and placed it on 5 acres of land worth £20 an acre and given all this to each and every family in the United States of America, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia.

After doing this there would be enough money left to give each city of 200,000 inhabitants and over in all the countries named a £1,000,000 library, a £1,000,000 hospital, and a £2,000,000 university. And then out of the balance we could still have sufficient money to set aside a sum at 5 per cent. interest which would pay for all time to come a £500 yearly salary for each of an army of 125,000 teachers and, in addition to this, to pay the same salary to each of an army of 125,000 nurses. And, after having done all this, we could still have enough left out of our £80,000,000,000 to buy up all of France and Belgium and everything of value that France and Belgium possess; that is, every French and Belgian farm, home, factory, church, railroad, street car—in fact, everything of value in those two countries in 1914.

—From *A Leading American Socialist's View of the Peace Problem*, by Victor L. Berger (In Carnegie endowment for international Peace Yearbook, 1934).

The cost (of war) to the world approximated £50,000,000,000. . . . If we placed this staggering sum into peace-time circulation, we would now have millions of unemployed, plus the direct loss of 50,000 men, and approximately 250,000 casualties.

Well could we rid ourselves, with this vast sum, of the slums of our great cities, the misery and poverty that go with them. Well could we multiply our opportunities of education and culture, through better and larger institutions of learning. Well could we afford, not one, but several airports in every large city. Well could we rid ourselves of the inadequate highways, narrow streets, and the constant congestion in every city, large or small. Well could we multiply our airways expediting the transportation of mail, people, and merchandise to and from every hamlet in this country.

Well may we remember the forgotten statistics of the World War. Seventy-four million men mobilised, 10,000,000 killed, 3,000,000 maimed, 19,100,000 wounded, 10,000,000 disabled or incapacitated for the balance of their lives, 9,000,000 orphans and 5,000,000 widows.

—From *The Cost of War*, by Captain Eddie Rickenbacker (In Congressional Record, October 2, 1939).

(Continued from page 1.)

We appreciate the help these wholesalers have given us during the past four years. But now that they have had to take this decision, it's up to you, reader, to help us if you have been buying the paper through a newsagent.

If he cannot supply you, complete the form on the back page and send it to us immediately.

Finally, please forgive any delay there may be, due to the radical reorganisation involved. We shall do our best to overcome the difficulties; please help us!

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week: 29,480.

Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund: £18 17s. 10d.

Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £638 19s. 5½d.

(The Peace News Fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy paid to Peace News. Though the paper is now self-supporting, the debt for the subsidy paid over several months remains, and we would therefore welcome donations of any size to enable us to pay it off as soon as possible. Individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to Peace News Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implicit therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

Three More C.O.s Arrested

THREE more conscientious objectors whose applications were dismissed by the local and appellate tribunals have been arrested. One has been court-martialled. They are:—

John N. Brown, of Newcastle, arrested on Thursday of last week, refused to undergo medical examination, but after a night in the cells accepted military service.

John Mitchell, of Oldham, who was arrested on April 28 and handed over to military escort by a magistrate. For refusing to obey orders in the Army he was court-martialled on May 15 and sentenced to 93 days' detention in Glasgow detention barracks. This sentence makes it impossible for Mr. Mitchell to take advantage of Section 13 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act whereby a CO serving a sentence of three months, or more, imprisonment imposed on him by court-martial may apply once more to the Appellate Tribunal. The purpose of this clause was to avoid the "cat-and-mouse" treatment that COs endured in the last war. The case is being brought to the immediate notice of the War Office.

Robert Walker, of Southampton, who was arrested on May 12 and handed over to military escort. For the last week he has been detained at Skegness Marine Depot. Walker asked leave to appear before a magistrate when he was arrested, but was told that this was no longer the correct procedure.

In this connection we recall that when similar action was taken by the police in the case of a CO arrested last March, protest was made to the Home Secretary who acknowledged this error in procedure and expressed the regret of the police officers concerned. The matter was also raised with the War Office, and the then Secretary of State reported on April 20 that the

Home Office were issuing instructions to the Civil Police that such men, when apprehended by the police, must be brought before a civil court before being handed over to the military authorities. An Army Council Instruction to the same effect was understood to have been issued. Inquiries are on foot as to the nature of the instructions on which the Southampton police acted.

The advisory tribunal mentioned above has been set up to advise the Secretary of State for War in cases where soldiers have been court-martialled for offences committed on conscientious grounds.

The personnel of this tribunal is the same as that of the Appellate Tribunal set up under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, and it will follow a similar procedure. The tribunal may, if it thinks fit, recommend the discharge of the man concerned or his transfer to non-combatant duties in the armed forces.

Australia Has 91 Objectors Many Refuse to Register

NINETY-ONE conscientious objectors have applied for the limited exemption granted in the Australian Defence Act, according to figures supplied to the Australian Peace Pledge Union by the Department of the Army.

Many of these objectors will not accept the present restricted exemption and have only applied in the hope that the law will be amended. Though it is not yet known how many citizens liable for training have refused to register, it is expected that there will be a relatively large number, including many conscientious objectors to compulsory training.

Australian conscientious objectors, if the genuineness of their convictions is established, can obtain exemption from combatant military work but must perform non-combatant duties under military control. Although the penalty for refusing such duties is imprisonment for not more than six months, most objectors feel that acceptance of the present exemption would set others free for combatant work.

(From June 30, 1911, to June 30, 1914, when compulsory training was in force, 27,479 prosecutions were necessary to obtain 123,497 compulsory trainees; 5,732 lads who refused training were imprisoned in military fortresses.)

N.Z. Peace Federation

Nearly a hundred delegates, visitors, and observers from organisations all over New Zealand met in Wellington recently in a National Conference convened by the Wellington Peace and Anti-Conscription Council. The conference was held despite the ban placed upon it by the executive of the Labour Party and formed itself into a "National Peace and Anti-Conscription Federation," with headquarters in Wellington.

The Government of New Zealand was urged to take the initiative in calling an immediate peace conference at which the workers in addition to the governments of all nations, belligerent and neutral, would be fully represented; and that failing this being accomplished, that the New Zealand Government take immediate steps to withdraw the country from the war.

The conference adopted the following as the recommended programme for all local peace councils: (1) Immediate cessation of hostilities; (2) Opposition to conscription; (3) Maintenance of all civil rights, including the repeal of all anti-democratic emergency laws; (4) Preservation of the living standards and the welfare of the people.

An Important Decision

The Ministry of Labour has now made further enquiries, and has decided that in spite of his application being made late, Raymond V. Cornelius must be considered eligible to apply under Section 13 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act. The case will therefore be heard by the Appellate Tribunal and not by the Advisory Tribunal.

Although these tribunals are one and the same, the contention that Cornelius is eligible to apply under Section 13 is established by this decision, and this is of great importance.

Cornelius applied too late to register as a C.O. He was taken into the Army. After disobeying an order he was court-martialled on February 19 and was sentenced to six months in a civil prison.

Proportion Still Falls

WHEN men of the 1912 class registered for military service on Saturday there was a further decline in the percentage of conscientious objectors.

They numbered 3,439 out of a total of 326,259—or 1.05 per cent.

Approximately 39,000 men have now registered as C.O.s since conscription was introduced.

Here is an analysis of Saturday's figures:—

England.—2,849 C.O.s out of 276,632 men who registered.

Scotland.—351 out of 32,896.

Wales.—239 out of 16,731.

Basque House

Last week we drew attention to the responsibility of Peace Pledge Union members for the cost of repairing Basque House, Langham, after it had been used by the Spanish refugees who were under the care of the PPU. By Tuesday £40 had been received out of the £232 needed by June 14 to claim an offer of £50 to make up the actual cost of £282, and also another offer of £50 on the same terms. Thus, the immediate need now is for gifts amounting to £142.

Will those who have not yet sent their contribution please send it as soon as possible to Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, clearly marked "Basque House Dilapidations."

Change of Address of Advisory Bureau
BOLTON: Mr. J. Grime, 20, Westminster Road, Bolton.

Devon Camp Cancelled

The Devon Peace Camp which was announced for July 11 to 24 has now been cancelled.

TO RETAIL NEWSAGENTS: We shall be glad to fulfil direct orders of one dozen or upwards at trade terms.

TO GROUP LEADERS: A circular giving full details will be sent within the next few days.

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What Does



Stand For?

A full summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contained it (May 17), or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

For further particulars write "P.P.U. Headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

POSTER CASE

(Continued from page 3)

challenge to men to think. "What am I going to do about it?" Each man should make up his own mind.

The Attorney General.—Now that Germany is making war on this country, do you think that all Englishmen should refuse to fight?

Mr. Rowntree.—I certainly do not think Englishmen should refuse to fight unless they conscientiously wish to.

Are you glad the Army is still going to fight, or would you rather every man laid down his arms and allowed to happen what would happen? —I cannot give a yes or no answer, because I do not believe that if men simply laid down their arms out of, say, cowardice we should get what we (our body) are seeking for. We would say that the only condition under which people should lay down their arms is the conviction that there is a better way of dealing with injustice than the violent method.

Having the ideals of liberty you have, if everyone in this country laid down their arms to-day, those ideals would not have much chance?—If everyone laid down their arms, that would presuppose a change of mind that would have far-reaching results. Therefore I believe that if, by conviction and not by cowardice, we were determined to use another method, we should get hell for a time, but I believe that in the end liberty and justice would be promoted by that method.

Mr. Rowntree went on to explain that there was a feeling in the PPU that they should concentrate rather more on the foundations of a new world, even while the war is being prosecuted.

The hearing was adjourned until 10.30 a.m. on June 6.

"Every Christian knows 'that loyalty to Christ takes priority over every other.' Christ said, 'Love your enemies . . . do good to them that hate you . . . Do you?'"

The above is the wording of a new poster published by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, 2, and the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

(Enclose in unsealed envelope, 1d. stamp.)

"PEACE NEWS"

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4

- I have placed an order with my group.
- Please arrange for "P.N." to be delivered through the local PPU group.
- So far as I know there is no local group; if you are unable to make arrangements for delivery I am prepared to subscribe at the current rates (3s. 3d. a quarter; 12s. 6d. a year).
- I can still obtain "P.N." from my newsagent.
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Address.....

Group (if known).....